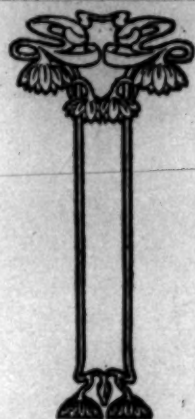


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
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Vol. I
No. 2



The Elimination of Sex

Woman's Wages and
the Ballot

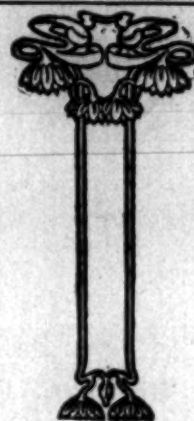
Fighting Suffrage in Germany

The Suffrage Parade:
It's Analysis

Laws in Suffrage and Non-
Suffrage States

Immigrant Women and
the Vote

JUNE
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Women in Revolt.

II.—THE WIFE AS "PARASITE"

BY HAROLD OWEN.

Before we begin to follow the feminist into the land of promise, it will be as well to tarry with her a little while in the land of disillusion. And I need hardly say that the land of disillusion is the present state to which it has pleased God, as some say, or Man, as the feminist says, to call her.

In this matter, of course, feminism speaks for the wives and mothers of England, and it is for them to recognize the fidelity of the picture that feminism draws in depicting the conditions of their "subjection." Their state, according to the feminist, is so bad that the only thing for them to do is to rebel—not only as unenfranchised voters, but as degraded wives. Miss Cicely Hamilton, catching the spirit of industrial unrest, calls for a strike of the wives of England. After picturing their degradation, she says:

"And that all-round improvement she will demand—and get—only when it is borne in upon her that her unmarried sisters have placed themselves in a position to get out of life a great deal more than she is permitted to get out of it. When she realizes that fact to the full she will go on strike—and good luck to her!"

This advice is tendered to the wives of England out of commiseration for their lot, and they will naturally wish—some of them, at any rate—to know what is the matter with them. They may individually be happy, and have as little inclination to go on strike as to be locked out. But the feminist will tell them what is really the matter with them. They may be happy and comfortable and desire nothing more than, say, votes for women, but there is a canker at their very core. For they are merely parasites, living in a degrading state. Miss Hamilton tersely furnishes the clue to the matter. "The wages paid to a married woman being merely a wage for the possession of her person," each wife really occupies no more exalted or worthy position than a paid mistress. That is the first shock that feminism gives to the wives of England. The next is that they are paid wages that amount only to "a bare subsistence."

"THE INIQUITY OF WEALTH."

Now, obviously, there is a little difficulty there. For though many wives

may indeed obtain no more than a bare subsistence by following the "trade," as Miss Hamilton calls it, of marriage, there are furriers' establishments and streets of shops devoted to supplying the latest fashions, and there are jewellers' shops, and diamond tiaras are occasionally seen at the opera. In other words, there are rich wives—or, at any rate, the wives of rich husbands.

But even they can derive no comfort of exemption; they, too, are living on a "bare subsistence" wage. For, as Miss Hamilton says, her style of living is still "essentially a wage of subsistence, regulated by the idea of what is necessary for subsistence in the particular class to which she may belong" (so that if a millionaire marries a barmaid his style of living is at once unjustly thrust upon her too). And Miss Hamilton at once gets over that difficulty by observing that the wife of the rich husband merely pays the added penalty of receiving "bare subsistence" on a larger and more iniquitous scale. As she penetratingly says, "the plutocrat who wishes his wife to entertain cannot habitually feed her on fish and chips from round the corner, or renew her wardrobe in an old clothes shop." So her "12 course dinners and dresses from the Rue de la Paix" are merely given to her "because without them she could not fulfil the duties that he required of her." They are, in fact, thrust upon her, as the price of her person, merely for the husband's selfish gratification.

But then another difficulty arises—namely, that some Darbies of 70 may be maintaining parasitical Joans of 65, and the suggestion that they are doing it for the same ignoble motive might shock both Darbies and Joans, who have never previously looked at the matter in that light. But in that case, I suppose, the difficulty can be met by the suggestion that the Joans are merely receiving a pension for the "personal" services of their younger days. In any case they are still parasites.

And Mrs. Billington Grieg helps us to a more scientific perception of parasitism, showing that the wife may not always be a parasite, but that the alternative to a parasitical state is that she is a serf. If a woman has married a husband well-to-do, who can afford to give her 12-course dinners and dresses even from the Rue de la Paix, then she is, obviously, a parasite. You can liken her to ivy if you are romantic and unscientific, or to a flea if you are prosaic; but she is, nevertheless, a parasite. But if she is the wife of a husband who works hard for her, and has none too

much money, so that she is all day engaged in her domestic duties of looking after her own home—or "his" home, until the question arises of who shall be mistress there—and her own children—or "his" children, when it is a question of who shall maintain them—then she is a serf.

SERF AND PARASITE.

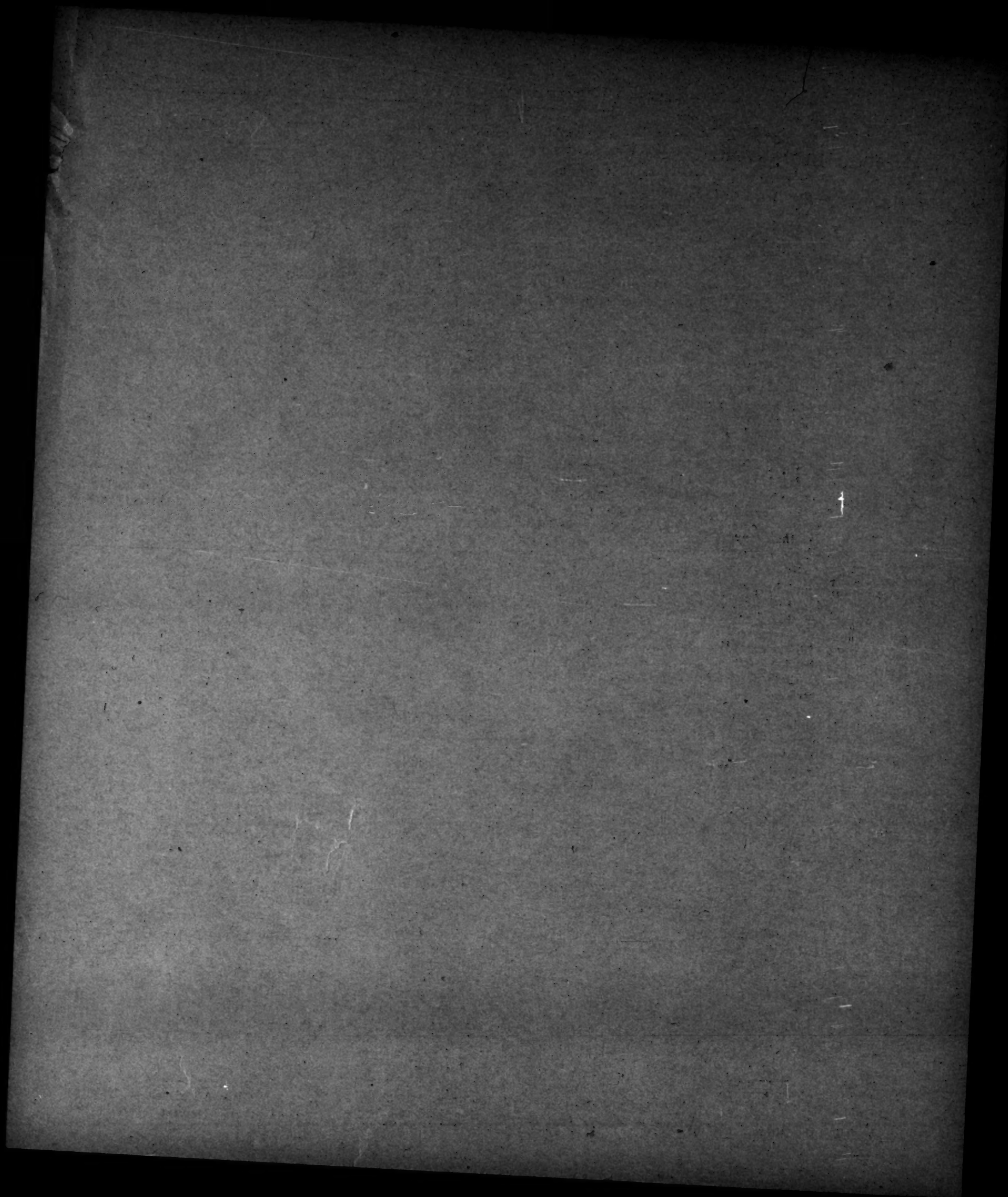
She may be able to keep a small maid and to send the washing out, but if her domestic duties in her home absorb as much of her interest and existence as her husband's business or profession absorbs of his existence, then she is a serf.

And now we descend to a lower stratum to come across the parasite again. If he is so low in the social scale that she has comparatively nothing either to send to the laundry or to wash at home, and if home is such an elementary affair that it needs or receives very little attention to keep it in order, and her culinary accomplishments are limited to the variations possible with a frying-pan, then she, too, becomes a parasite. But as the bulk of the wives of England belong neither to one extreme nor the other, they are either parasitical-serfs or servile parasites where they cannot be straightforwardly and scientifically classified as your serf or your parasite. And so the next important bit of information I have to convey to the wives of England is that they are, in the feminist view, either parasites or serfs, and each wife will have to classify herself accordingly.

The obvious remedy demanded by feminism for this disgusting state of affairs is what suffragism offers as the price for the vote: The economic independence of women. But that doctrine rests on even a surer foundation than that supplied by the imperative need for them to rise above a parasitical or servile state and attain equality. It rests also on the foundation of the facts of natural science, and these must next be examined.

[EDITOR'S NOTE:—Mr. Owen's articles are appearing first in The London Daily Chronicle. They have attracted so much attention that they are well worth repeating. One of these articles will appear with each issue of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

The following articles by Mr. Owen are yet to be presented: "The 'Live Your Own Life' Creed," "Back to Nature," and "And the Newest Morality."]



Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States are Compared.

Proves Woman's Vote Brings No Legal Benefit to the Sex.

Comparisons are being frequently made during the progress of the Suffrage campaign now being waged in Wisconsin between the laws now in force for the protection and benefit of women and children in suffrage and non-suffrage States. Claims are vociferously advanced by the Suffragists that they need the ballot in order to secure beneficent legislation for their sex. They insist that the States where women are denied the ballot are backward in enacting laws favorable to them. Miss Ada James, president of the Political Equality League of Wisconsin, in challenging an editorial statement in the Milwaukee Free Press, sent to that paper a list of laws favorable to women in Colorado, evidently selecting that State because it presented the most favorable group of laws of any of the suffrage States. The Free Press replied to Miss James by contrasting her own list with the laws of like character already in operation in Wisconsin, printing both lists in the "deadly parallel." The Free Press did well, but it did not go as far as it might have. It omitted a number of laws aimed for women's aid. For the purpose of showing the actual comparison between Colorado (suffrage) and Wisconsin (non-suffrage) these lists are reproduced, Miss James' being given just as she furnished it, with the omission of two minor laws which clearly had no bearing on the matter, and the Free Press list, with a few additional statutes it overlooked.

COLORADO.

1. Forbidding the insuring of lives of children under ten years of age.
2. Establishing a home for dependent children, two of the five members of the Board of Control to be women.
3. Requiring three of the six members of the county visitors to be women.
4. Making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father.
5. Raising the age of protection for girls to 18 years.
6. Requiring one woman physician on the board of insane asylums.
7. Establishing parallel schools.
8. Making Humane Society State Bureau for child and woman protection.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.
10. Compulsory education with certain questionable exemptions.
11. No mention.
12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.
13. Establishing traveling libraries.
14. Employing children under 14 in smelter, etc., punishable by imprisonment.

WISCONSIN.

1. No such law in Wisconsin and there has been no demand for it.
2. Home for dependent children established at Sparta; at least one woman to be on Board of Control.
3. In institutions under Board of Control, at least one woman to be on Board.
4. This matter under control of the court. Courts give control of the children to the mother when she is best qualified to care for them, and the husband is liable for support of both wife and children.
5. Age of protection 14. No mother wants her boy held guilty of rape and sent to State's prison when girls of 17 to 18 consent.
6. One woman on board of insane asylums who is in fact a physician.
7. No provision.
8. Making Humane Society State Bureau for child and woman protection.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.
10. Compulsory education without harmful exemptions.
11. Establishing a system of Industrial Education.
12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.
13. Establishing traveling libraries and school libraries.
14. No child shall be employed in such places under 18.

15. Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of homestead, etc.
16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child. Parents being made responsible but no proof of age is required other than the affidavit of parent or guardian.
17. Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents.
18. Abolishing the system of binding out girls committed to Industrial Schools.
19. No mention.
20. No mention.
21. No mention.
22. No mention.
23. No mention.
24. No mention.
25. No mention.
26. No mention.
27. No mention.
28. No mention.
29. No mention.
30. No mention.
31. No mention.
32. No mention.
33. No mention.
34. Women have equal suffrage.
15. Requiring signatures of wife to mortgage of exempt personal property for sale or mortgage of homestead.
16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child.
17. Making is a criminal offense to fail to support aged or infirm.
18. Never had a system of binding out girls in Industrial Schools.
19. Law regulating street trades for children in large cities. Girls under 18 not allowed to engage in street trades. Boys under 12 not allowed to engage in street trades.
20. At least two women members on the Board of University Regents.
21. At least one woman member on Board of Normal School Regents.
22. At least one woman member of the Board of Industrial Education.
23. Wife's wages and separate income exempt for necessities and support of family.
24. Insurance money left to the wife by the husband is exempt from debts of the husband.
25. Giving wife right of action for damages for sale of liquor to husband.
26. Wife may be executrix or administrator of the estate of the husband.
27. Wife has the right of action for the death of the husband through negligence of another.
28. Wife has absolute control of her separate property.
29. The law provides for women factory inspectors.
30. Four free Employment Bureaus with women superintendents.
31. Industrial schools for incorrigible girls, Milwaukee. At least one member of the Board of Control must be a woman.
32. Industrial School for incorrigible boys, Waukesha. At least one member of the Board of Control must be a woman.
33. Home for feeble-minded at Chippewa Falls. At least one member of the Board of Control must be a woman.
34. Women vote for all school officers, are eligible to support school offices, can be attorneys, court commissioners, etc.

Any of our readers wishing copies of comparative laws between Colorado, and the States of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Massachusetts, Ohio or Illinois, may obtain them by writing to the "Woman's Protest."

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Secretary, MRS. MORGAN G. BULKELEY - Hartford, Conn.
Treasurer, MRS. ROBERT GARRETT - Roland Park, Baltimore

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Application has been made to the Post Office at New York, for admission as second-class matter.

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

IMMIGRANT WOMAN AND THE VOTE.

IN considering "votes for women" it is impossible to ignore the factor of the immigrant woman. In regard to naturalization she stands on an entirely different basis from her male counterpart. The male immigrant must take out two sets of papers. In the first he must signify his intention of becoming a citizen; in the second he must abjure his former citizenship and swear fully to the government of the United States. All this is a matter of some time. We may think the time should be longer, but that is neither here nor there. It is a question of months and years before the newly arrived man can become a voter. During this time even the stupid usually acquire a smattering of English and some faint glimmerings of what our government is, and perhaps even what our political parties stand for. The case of the woman is, however, this.

A man comes to this country leaving wife and daughters in the old. He prospers and becomes a citizen. Just before an election he sends for his family. If the women had votes it would be only needful for these women to arrive in time to register to vote at the election. No need for them to be in the country years, months or even weeks, as the natural citizenship of the man makes the women of his family citizens. The Suffragists realize that this is a dangerous argument against their cause and try to meet it by saying that there have been conflicting rulings in the courts on this question. The fact is there has never been any ruling from a high Federal Court. All we can go by is precedent. Take Massachusetts, for example. In that State women vote in school elections. The vote of the women is usually very light, few registering and less voting. Occasionally some question, usually of race or religion, calls forth an unusual degree of interest; in that case the citizenship of the women on the basis of the husband's or father's naturalization is accepted without demur.

During the last session of the Assembly a bill was introduced which, while it advocated the franchise for women, no attempt was made to meet this particular objection. It is a question if such a bill can ever pass until some definite legal ruling has been made by the Supreme Court, and our Suffrage friends do not appear at all anxious to put up a test case.

To point out the dangers involved in thus introducing at one stroke an enormous body of voters ignorant of our government and of our language into our political life, would seem to be an insult to the intelligence of the average citizen, who, however, should not fail to weigh this matter in considering the claims of women, whose desire to vote appears to be stronger than their patriotism.

"THE ELIMINATION OF SEX."

THE Suffragist use of this extraordinary phrase is qualified by the added words, "in politics," and that qualification has stamped it with a queer kind of appearance of reality and given it such short-lived currency as a counterfeit may have.

The absurdity of the proposition to eliminate a fundamental,

natural fact, or even to eliminate the influence—which is, of course, what the Suffragists mean—of one of the greatest of natural forces from the conduct of human affairs is so overwhelming as to be a real proof of the complete lack of humor in the characters of those women who gravely propound what can only arouse ridicule. When the record of this movement comes to be reviewed at some far-distant day, surely no part of it will seem more silly than this proposal of "elimination," which must provoke the laughter of gods and men, and incidentally all sane women. When some ardent, if timid, Anti-Suffragist has of late voiced a fear that suffrage would produce a hybrid type, it has certainly seemed a needless anxiety, but now comes the declaration of just such an intention from the suffrage side, to astound the temperate mind.

How, one wonders, do they intend to go about this extraordinary business? As well determine to eliminate the lungs or legs from participation in politics, decide to shut out the sun, or conclude that we can do without the earth. No natural fact is more definite, no human condition has evolved to a full development more completely, than has that of sex. Its influence, beneficent in the main, and surely in natural intent, is felt in every walk, in every situation, at every moment of life. The bond between mother and son, between father and daughter, between sister and brother is heightened and strengthened by the psychic and æsthetic influence of sex. The persuasiveness of man to woman and woman to man, is a perfectly natural, useful, proper element in their practical and friendly relations. It is only in misuse that danger lies, just as it lies in the misuse of any other natural force or condition. It cannot be eliminated anyhow, or anywhere, and to ignore it is for the fool once more to play the ostrich, and cry out from beneath a sandstorm of illogical, unfounded and impossible assertions, "I am not a woman, I am a politician; I have eliminated sex!" Is it to be supposed that her masculine competitor in the struggle for place and power is apt to mistake her for a man—or even a hybrid?

The proposal must also be recognized as disingenuous, for the behavior of the Suffragists does not bear out the declaration of their determination to "eliminate sex from politics." Go to Albany during the legislative session and watch the women lobbying in favor of the Suffrage bills, and then ask whether the tactics they use are those of men, whether their manner is that of men, whether they decline the courtesies offered them as from men to women, or allow them to forget for one moment that they are women. I do not criticize them adversely for this, but for their repudiation and denial of it. They are entitled to a legitimate use of the persuasive eloquence of their womanhood, and every one who has been before the Legislature, either in committee or as a whole, in the interest of conditions needing betterment, knows that the influence of one good woman, unhampered by political affiliations, with nothing personal to gain, with no side-glance at possible political preferment, can carry more weight a hundred-fold than her single vote could possibly do, implying as it would all sorts of party responsibilities or political aspirations for herself or others.

Such names as Mrs. Wm. B. Rice, Mrs. Francis P. Kinneutt, Miss Louise Schuyler, Mrs. Florence Kelly, Mrs. Edward R. Hewitt, to name a few well known in our State and city for their philanthropical and sociological work, are an incontrovertible proof of what women can do without the ballot. Is it possible that any one can think for an instant that these women could have accomplished such results if they had been deprived of that sex influence which they have used in the highest and best way always, or that these names, to which others from diverse places, as Josephine Shaw Lowell, Mrs. Cabot and Jane Addams, for instance, could be added, and among this brief list some are for and some against woman suffrage, would stand out as they do in the record of great philanthropy and high citizenship had their womanhood been eliminated and the vote given in exchange?

This proposition—to eliminate sex, under any circumstances, or for any purpose—is such an insult to womanhood that if one could stop laughing at the absurdity one must weep at the tragedy of misapprehension and misunderstanding.

SHOWING OF SYRACUSE SUFFRAGISTS.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., has always been considered a hotbed of Suffragists, as it is the home of Miss Harriet M. Mills. Recently the "Syracuse Herald," the leading paper, has been having a straw vote to see which way the women of the city were really inclined on the question of suffrage. There are in Syracuse 33,000 women who were entitled to vote, and only 1.3 per cent., or 430 of these voted in favor of suffrage. Suffrage leaders declare that it was not a test of real opinion, but the Anti-Suffragists feel that those who want suffrage did vote. It is also stated by the Anti-Suffragists that while the Suffragists made an effort to get women to vote the opposition had not done so.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL.

WE wish to correct the statement made in the May PROTEST in regard to the vote of the New York Assembly on the Woman Suffrage bill. The bill was sent out of committee adversely. The Assembly voted in favor of the bill 76 to 67, with a majority necessary to carry it. A motion was immediately made to reconsider, which was carried by a vote of 69 to 67, with the result that it was laid on the table, and as the Assembly was immediately adjourned nothing more was done in the matter. The bill was not passed by the Senate, as stated by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper in the "Harper's Bazar," as it did not have a large enough majority in favor of it.

Woman's Wages and the Ballot.

Experience Disproves Assertion That Incomes Increase for the Voter—Fallacy of the Suffrage Argument Shown by Facts.

BY FRANCES BEATTY.

The cry of the suffragist—away from the suffrage States—is always a cry that will appeal to the working woman, and the fallacy is constantly drummed into her ears that with the ballot will come increased wages, or "equal pay for equal work." In the suffrage States, however, that battle-cry is never heard, and the working woman is told that she must not expect the ballot to either raise or regulate her wages.

Speaking of Colorado, the oldest of the suffrage States, Dr. Helen S. Sumner, a leading suffragist, says in her "Equal Suffrage" (page 135): "Taking public employment as a whole, women receive considerably less remuneration than men." It is a fact that the public-school teachers of Colorado are underpaid. The Denver News of June 22, 1911, in commenting upon an unjust law affecting the school teachers (the law passed by a legislature which included four women, the largest number of women ever enrolled as members of the legislative body of Colorado), said: "Considering the low wages paid to teachers and the exacting nature of their duties, this (bill) is little, if anything, less than legal robbery."

Mrs. Helen M. Wixson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Colorado, visited California during the campaign for suffrage in that State, and made several public addresses in favor of suffrage. But she told her audiences that they need not expect the ballot to raise wages of women, as the ballot had

not done so in Colorado and should not be expected to do so elsewhere.

It would seem unnecessary to emphasize the fact that the law of supply and demand, and not the ballot, regulates wages. It has always been so, and will so continue, until the end of time. The ballot has never regulated the wages of man; why should woman expect it to regulate her wages?

In 1911 John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers, the great labor leaders, reported five million voting men out of employment. With such conditions existing among organized labor, "fortified" with the ballot, how can working women expect to gain anything from suffrage?

The school-teaching profession is overcrowded with women, the world over, while few men, comparatively, are engaged in that profession. For that reason alone, and aside from all considerations of the ballot, the wages of the men are sometimes higher than those of the women. In manufacturing cities, where hundreds of unskilled laborers work in the car-shops and similar industries, the moment the car-shops shut down the wages of those unskilled laborers—armed though they are with the ballot—fall. Why? Because that army of men are instantly on the market for work, and the market scale of wages, like a thermometer, rises and falls with atmospheric conditions. With hundreds of laborers looking for work, with two or even three men ready for every vacancy, it is as certain as that night follows day that wages will drop, with the supply exceeding the demand.

In those factories where women are paid by piece work, on equal terms with men, it is invariably found that the women cannot earn as much as the men, on account of physical differences; it is not in the nature of woman to bear up under a physical strain that does not affect a man in the least.

In the stores of the country, where women clerks are paid less than the men, the least consideration of the subject will find a reason for the difference. When a man goes out into the commercial world he goes there with the intention of remaining there during his natural life; with woman it is only a temporary expedient at best, and very few of the women clerks remain more than a few years in the stores. How few of them remain can be learned by a tour through any of the large stores of this country, and where they do, and are equally competent, they invariably receive equal wages with men similarly employed. This is true of the buyers for the large houses, the millinery designers and trimmers, garment-makers and dressmakers generally. Where they are equally competent, and in cases where the supply does not exceed the demand, they invariably stand on an equal footing.

In choosing an occupation the economic well-being is by no means the first thought of the woman wage-earner. Domestic service offers high wages to women, comfortable living and a sheltered life. It is the one line of work that is ever seeking workers and is never overcrowded. Yet how many thousands of girls prefer to work for less wages in the sweat-shops, factories or department stores, and cry out against the low wages paid in those overcrowded fields of endeavor!

An investigator for the New York State Immigration Committee during the winter of 1907-1908 interviewed 500 immigrant girls and learned that not one of them who tried to find a position as a domestic failed. This during the height of the panic, when people everywhere were cutting down expenses and when women employed in mercantile establishments and factories were being laid off by the hundred. While women walked the streets in a vain endeavor to find employment in the factories during that winter, work was at hand for them, as domestics, would they but accept it. The average wage of the domestic worker who had been in the United States more than six months was shown by this same investigator of the immigration committee to be much larger than the wages of the worker who had been in the country less than three months. Such an increase was not shown in any other line of employment.

There are 4,833,630 women employed in the United States, 1,953,467 of them employed as domestics! About one-third of

all the working women of this country employed as domestics, and still the demand exceeds the supply.

There are reasons why the wages of women often compare unfavorably with the wages of men. Women are physically weaker than men and, as a result, cannot compete with men in work that demands a test of physical endurance. Men, as a rule, depend entirely upon the wages they receive, and enter the commercial world, to remain as workers during their lives. Women, on the other hand, are partially supported by husbands or parents, and by far the vast majority of them enter the business world merely as temporary workers, the home their final destiny.

Wages are raised not by the vote, but by trade conditions and trade combinations. The wages of the domestic have increased within the last forty years, far and away above those of all other workers. Why? Because the demand for competent servants is greater than the supply. The current rate of wages cannot be fixed by vote. Women's wages, without the vote, have increased in the last forty years more than have the wages of men, with the vote.

The chief cause of the low wages of women rests with the women who enter into competition with their sisters, in order to earn pin money and not a living. The only laws that could raise the wages of women would be laws forbidding married women and girls who live at home, and are thus partially supported, from any sort of wage-earning occupation. Such a law, of course, could not be passed, or, if passed, would be unconstitutional. Yet, in no other way than by thus reducing the number of workers and regulating the law of supply and demand could the working woman, in an overcrowded field, hope to have her wages raised.

Laws cannot alter the facts of Nature. Women, as producers of wealth, are not equal to men. If the legislature attempted to compel employers to pay women the same wages as they paid to men the business of the country would be disrupted, financial disaster would ensue, and women as well as men would suffer. The question of wages deals with economic rather than political conditions, and therefore woman suffrage has nothing to do with wages. On the other hand, the interests of women workers can be promoted, and are constantly being promoted, in other ways, entirely apart from politics and the ballot.

Miss Butler, author of "Women and the Trades," says: "Women are a shifting body of workers, first, because they give up their industrial work at marriage, and second, because of their consequent lack of ambition. Cause and effect in their case work in a circle."

But 20.6 per cent. of the total number of women in this country are bread-winners. Out of this number the large proportion are foreigners, and 32 per cent. are between 16 and 20 years of age.

A great scientist says that "The first requisite for the mothers of the future, the element of physical health being assumed, is that they should be motherly. For this indispensable thing there is no substitute." Politics, even according to the wildest dreams of the suffragette visionary, would scarcely be conducive to motherliness.

During the great shirt-waist strike in New York during the winter of 1909-1910 a noted suffragette, addressing the women strikers at a street meeting, declared that if the workers had the ballot the strike in which they were engaged would have been unnecessary. The humor of that serious statement is best appreciated when it is known that 40 per cent. of those strikers were men, 60 per cent. of the remainder were under twenty-one years of age, and 25 per cent. of all the women of voting age had not been in this country long enough to vote if they had the ballot!

Working women do not need the ballot, and the great majority of them recognize this fact and are not concerned with the suffrage movement, though the leaders look upon themselves as self-appointed "representatives" of the wage-earners of America. The lack of the ballot does not affect the wages of working women, and certainly it does not close the door of

opportunity to them. The industrial field is wide open to women, and it would be difficult to find any employment which women may not enter with nothing to handicap them but their own limitations. These avenues of employment have been opened to women, not by the ballot or by the agitation for the franchise, but in the general course of the progress of the world, in which women have had their share, quite independently of the political status of woman.

Men had the ballot for years, during which time they strove, ineffectually, to keep wages up to the highest standard. In many cases the vote of the working man was but one more factor in the power of the unscrupulous employer, and the enforced vote of labor kept oppression in power. Organization and co-operation are the means by which working men have been able to raise the scale of wages and to keep it raised, and the ballot had nothing whatever to do with it.

Even the suffragette must admit that every field of employment is open to women; that the scale of wages is determined by considerations entirely apart from their political status, and that State legislation has been more than liberal in making laws for the protection and advantage of working women. Women are exempt, moreover, from all the many personal taxes which are levied upon men, such as the requirement to serve on juries, to help put out fires, to make arrests, to quell riots and to bear arms when the country demands it.

Those who claim that in addition to these existing opportunities, privileges and exemptions working women still need the ballot, do not make it clear just what benefit the ballot will be to them. They deal in glittering generalities as vague as they are misleading. Their demands have no clear-cut, definite proposition back of them.

Even had they a sure foundation in logic and in fact, the measure they seek could not be granted without working injustice to others. The case of the women of Washington is strongly to the point; great numbers of them drafted for jury service, "willing or unwilling," since they have been given their "rights" in that State.

The decision of Chief Justice Waite, that the Constitution of this country does not confer the franchise upon any one, settles the question of "inherent right" so often put forth by the suffragists.

"Whatever abstract arguments may be used concerning it," says this eminent jurist, "the fact remains that the granting of the franchise has always been regarded, in the practise of nations, as a matter of expediency and not as an inherent right."

Until the Constitution of this country shall have been overthrown this decision from the highest tribunal of the land must stand, despite the murmurings of those who would crush the Government, if need be, to obtain their own ends!

As a question of expediency, the extension of suffrage to women looms up as an extremely doubtful measure—one fraught with much danger for the future of our country. There are less than seven million working women in this country, forty per cent. of them under voting age, who cease to be wage-earners when they reach their majority. The position of women as industrial workers is, and for the best interests of society should be, essentially temporary. To an enormous percentage of the women wage-earners their employment is but a temporary makeshift, and their relation to the commercial world would not be changed by giving them the ballot. On the other hand, giving these wage-earners the ballot would but add to their responsibility without putting any real power in their hands.

Attending political rallies, making political speeches and running for office, will not improve woman. The militant suffragette, the sentimental philanthropist and the would-be reformer may well pause to look below the surface and try to see just what is the substance of the alluring and illusive will-o'-the-wisp they are trying to force upon the body politic, under the guise of "Votes for Women."

Suffrage Parade Impressive, But It Doesn't Stand Close Analysis.

Small Percentage of Membership of Organization in Line,
Despite the Presence of Many Paid Marchers
and Body of Socialists.

THE GREAT PARADE.

"What are the women marching for?" said Child-on-Parade;
"To show their strength, to show their strength," the watching Anti said.

"What makes you smile, what makes you smile?" said Child-on-Parade.

"I'm adding two and two, you know," the watching Anti said,
"For they are marching, these eight thousand, you can hear the Dead March play,

In long procession, well got up, they show their strength to-day,
They've called 'em in from Jersey and Westchester far away,
And are marching, gaily marching 'neath the Yellow."

"Who are these nice young men I see?" said Child-on-Parade;
"From college halls, far college halls," the watching Anti said.
"What makes you laugh, my Anti, dear?" said Child-on-Parade.
"I'm thinking what it cost, my child," the watching Anti said,
"For they paid all their expenses and are marching 'em around,
And the boys are laughing slyly at the good thing they have found
As they're marching, gaily marching for the Yellow."

"These older men, what do they here?" said Child-on-Parade;
"They're husbands trained and fathers bold," the watching Anti said.

Eight thousand girls, six hundred men?" said Child-on-Parade.
"Yes, yes, my child, 'tis very clear," the watching Anti said,
The rest are with us Antis; you must mark 'em to their place,
For they're watching, meekly watching while their wives and daughters race

After votes and other baubles to the sex's deep disgrace,
While they're marching, gaily marching 'neath the Yellow."

"What's that so black against the sun?" said Child-on-Parade;
"The women fighting for their 'cause,'" the watching Anti said,
"What's that that whimpers over head?" said Child-on-Parade;
"The great revolt that's coming now," the watching Anti said.
"For sixty years they've taught their creed—that's what their books all say—

Eight thousand girls in column is all they've got to-day,
While the Antis on the sidewalk grow stronger every day,
As they're marching, gaily marching from the Yellow."

E. R. M.

WHERE WERE THE SUFFRAGISTS?

The enormous crowds that watched on the sidewalk the women's parade on May 4th did not find much that they expected to see. There were no freaks; there was nothing especially sensational to gratify their curiosity. The line was spread out so as to take more time in passing than is necessary, and there were long intervals—in some instances twelve or fifteen minutes—between the divisions. Those in charge of the parade said it was owing to bad police management; but the formation has been criticised because there were four or five women marching abreast, instead of ten, as is usual in many parades, a formation which would have kept the crowd from surging onto the street.

Much criticism was made at the presence of babies and children. The women marched with precision and enthusiasm worthy of a better cause. There was little cheering from the sidewalks, although some of the more emotional suffragist accounts asserted that there was, and there was no jeering, except for the small

body of men. The comments from the crowds, however, as heard by hundreds of men and women actively opposed to suffrage, all up and down the line, were many of them startling, and some of them unrepeatable.

Many of the college students, as well as the working girls who marched, were under age. Some of the college students who marched were paid from \$3 to \$5 a head, and many of the working girls \$1 to march. The excuse for paying the latter was not a good one—"that they were paid in lieu of a half day's work," because Saturday is a half holiday in most of the trades.

The numbers in line were a little over 8,000 women and 675 men. The Suffragists had been working for six months, hoping to have 30,000, spending thousands of dollars in printing, stamps and salaries, having recruiting stations in the parks and streets, and using every possible means to secure a large number.

It was given out to the press throughout the country that there were 15,000 to 20,000 women and 2,000 men in line, which has given the impression that the number marching was much larger than it was.

Leading Suffragists have stated that there are 50,000 members of the Woman Suffrage party in New York, a number which we have always thought over estimated, and it is a fact that there are 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 women in Greater New York who would become voters if suffrage were given to them. The 8,000 who marched represented only sixteen per cent. of the members claimed by Suffragists, and certainly not the eight per cent. claimed as being in favor of suffrage in this city and State.

Where were the Suffragists?

There were over 500 Socialists, men and women, in the parade who marched in a group distinctly Socialist, with red sashes and unmistakable inscriptions, headed by a red banner and a band of music that alternately played the "International" and the "Marseillaise." They wound up their demonstration with an open-air meeting, at which Socialist literature was distributed in large quantities, and where Socialist suffrage speeches were made.

A Question of Brains.

Quotations From a Few Distinguished Persons Who
Disagree With Theories of "Votes for Women"
Element and Refute Their Arguments.

Suffragists and their sympathizers are constantly declaring that no man or woman of intelligence and broad views could oppose woman suffrage—meaning that all real intelligence is confined to the suffrage ranks. "Become a Suffragist and you become intelligent," is the burden of their remarks. Following are a few views of eminent persons who could hardly be described as "prejudiced and bigoted," or "opposed to progress":

Daniel Webster: "The rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex. It is by the promulgation of sound morals in the community, and more especially by the training and instruction of the young, that woman performs her part toward the preservation of a free government."

Francis Parkman: "It has been claimed as a right that woman should vote. It is no right, but a wrong, that a small number of women should impose on all the rest political duties which there is no call for their assuming, which they do not want to assume, and which, if duly discharged, would be a cruel and intolerable burden."

Mrs. Clara T. Leonard, Massachusetts Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity: "The best work that a woman can do for the purifying of politics is by her influence over men, by the wise training of her children, by her intelligent, unselfish counsel to husband, brother or friend, by a thorough knowledge and discussion of the needs of her community."

Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D.: "I am now asked to confer the responsibility of suffrage upon women. This means, of course, that they are willing to accept all the responsibilities of public-

spirited men. To which request I reply that I do not think they want to do these things, and, second, that I do not think they would do them well."

Le Baron R. Briggs, president of Radcliffe College: "As to public life, I am still so conservative as to hold that a political competition of both sexes is less likely to elevate men than to degrade women, and that the peculiar strength of refined and earnest womanhood is exercised in ways less public. I fear the loss of the best that is in woman, and with it the loss of a power that is hers and hers alone."

Jacob A. Riis: "I do not think the ballot will add to woman's real power which she exercises or can exercise now."

Carl Schurz: "Is it not certain that so tremendous an addition to the voting force as the granting of unqualified woman suffrage would effect, would involve at least the possibility of a dangerous increase of those evils which the best thought of the country is at present painfully struggling to remedy?"

Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells: "In the present constitution of events, of facts, physiological, social, moral and political, it is inexpedient for government to grant universal female suffrage."

Cardinal Gibbons: "If woman enters politics, she will be sure to carry away on her some of the mud and dirt of political contact."

Hon. Moses Hallett, United States district judge for Colorado: "Our State has tried the female suffrage plan a sufficiently long time to form a fair idea of its workings. I am not prejudiced in any way, but honestly do not see where the experiment has proved of benefit. . . . It has produced no special reforms, and it has had no particular purifying effect upon politics. "There is a growing tendency on the part of most of the better and more intelligent of the female voters of Colorado to cease exercising the ballot. . . . If it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority."

Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State: "There never was a greater mistake, there never was a falser fact stated than that the women of America need any protection further than the love borne to them by their fellow countrymen. Do not imperil the advantages which they have; do not attempt in this hasty, ill-considered shallow way to interfere with the relations which are founded upon the laws of nature itself."

Miss Ida M. Tarbell: "The assumption that the improvement of woman's position depends upon the vote is quite as unsound as the charge of her inferiority. . . . Woman proves her equality by doing the things for which she is fitted and which the world needs from her. . . . It is the gravest weakness of this country at present to ignore certain fundamental things; that life is not saved by politics but by principles; and that principles are not taught by votes and legislation but by precept and by practise."

Abram S. Hewitt: "After carefully considering all the arguments advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage . . . I do not think, from the organic difference between men and women, that it will be ever shown to be for the advantage of women that they should be forced to take part in political controversies. In fact, I think it would be a great misfortune to them as well as to the human race."

Hon. Chas. J. Bonaparte: "The suffrage is not a mere privilege. It is a public burden, and when it is proposed to make your mothers and sisters and other ladies of whom, perhaps, you may sometimes think, share this burden, the question is properly not whether women should be allowed to vote, but whether they should be obliged to vote."

Prof. Edward D. Cope: "The first thing that strikes us in considering the woman suffrage movement is that it is a proposition to engage women once more in that 'struggle' from which civilization has enabled them in great measure to escape; and that its effect, if long continued and fairly tried, will be to check the devel-

opment of woman as such, and to bring to bear on her influences of a kind different from those which have been hitherto active."

Miss Dorothea L. Dix: "Distinctly and emphatically, Miss Dix believed in woman's keeping herself aloof and apart from anything savoring of ordinary political action. . . . She must be the incarnation of a purely disinterested idea appealing to universal humanity, irrespective of party or sect." (Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix, by Francis Tiffany.)

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell: "The best of the higher evolution of mind will never be safely reached until the woman accepts the irrevocable decree which made her woman and not man. Something in between she can not be."

Richard H. Dana: "The truth is, the ballot for women is not needed, . . . and if they were ever called upon to combine and work in antagonism to the men, which they must do if their vote is really needed, the evils of the conflict would strike at the very foundations of our social system."

Prof. William T. Sedgwick: "Why should the great majority of women, who, as everybody knows, are either indifferent or opposed to woman suffrage, be forced to accept it against their will when there is no sound evidence that any material good is likely to accrue either to themselves or to the State?"

Bishop John H. Vincent, founder of Chautauqua: "When about 30 years of age I accepted for a time the doctrine of woman suffrage and publicly defended it. Years of wide and careful observation have convinced me that the demand for woman suffrage in America is without foundation in equity, and, if successful, must prove harmful to American society."

Miss Jeannette L. Gilder, founder of the "Critic": "In politics I do not think that women have any place. Neither physically nor temperamentally are they strong enough for the fray. The life is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women. It is bad enough for men . . . and it would be worse for women. I believe not only that the ballot in the hands of women would be a calamity, but I believe that it would prove a boomerang."

John Boyle O'Reilly: "Woman suffrage would be the constitutional degradation of women; it would be an appeal to the coarser strength of men; and I profoundly believe that it would result in social disorder and disrespect of law."

Gail Hamilton (Miss Mary Abigail Dodge): "My earliest instinct and my latest judgment combine in maintaining that women have a right to claim exemption from political duty and responsibility, and that men have no right to lay the burden upon them. If the public work is ill done by men, the remedy is to do it better, not to shift the weight to shoulders already heavily laden, and whose task they do not propose in any respect to lighten."

Rev. James M. Buckley, D.D.: "Should the duty of governing in the State be imposed upon women, all the members of society will suffer. . . . The true woman needs no governing authority conferred upon her by law. In the present situation the highest evidence of respect that man can exhibit toward woman, and the noblest service he can perform for her, are to vote 'nay' to the proposition that would take from her the diadem of pearls, the talisman of faith, hope and love, by which all other requests are won from men, and substitute for it the iron crown of authority."

Hon. Henry B. Brown, ex-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States: "It is a mistake to suppose that either men or women have a natural right to vote. We are bound to distinguish between natural and political rights. They may be said to have a natural right to protection in their persons, their property and their opinions, but they have no natural right to govern or to participate in the government of others."

Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State: "I am opposed to granting suffrage to women because I believe it would be a loss to women and an injury to the State, and to every man and woman in the State."

[Compiled by the Massachusetts State Association.]

Sample of Suffragist Logic as Shown in Their Cartoons.

Over 25,000 Women Employed in St. Louis

Have no Voice in the Laws Governing Industry



At the Factory: Get Busy

WHICH IS MORE DIGNIFIED

THIS



OR THIS



At the Polls: Your Place is at Home



Which shall we use in immediate legislation

Dealing with

Board of Childrens Guardians
 Increased powers of Public Recreation Commission
 Smoke Abatement
 Fire Prevention
 Regulation of Water Supply

The Cartoons shown here are reproduced from those exhibited at the Child Welfare Exhibit at St. Louis recently. They give the usual deceptive impression of the suffragists, that votes are cast for measures, not men, but are valuable as showing their peculiar logic. The Child Welfare Exhibit probably did more to influence public opinion toward helping the conditions of women and children than the votes of all the women in Missouri could do in ten years.

The concession to women of the right to vote—with all that it involves—would promote the assimilation of the vocations, habits and interests of the sexes to a degree inconsistent with the full vitality of the race. Woman suffrage would be followed by racial decadence.—Heber Hart, LL.D.

We hear of the "Mission" and the "Rights" of Woman, as if these could ever be separate from the mission and rights of man. Each has what the other has not, each completes the other, and is completed by the other.—Ruskin.

How strangely some women deceive themselves in fancying that they can win in the battle of life by their own strength and yet not sacrifice the moral ascendancy which centuries of civilization have secured to them. Blind and petty ambition! They cannot have it both ways.—Frederic Harrison.

The whole thing sums itself up in my belief that the man votes not as a man but as the head of the family, and that wifehood and motherhood more than balance in their importance to the commonwealth the man's function as the household voter.—Jacob A. Riis.

Fight Against Woman Suffrage in Germany.

Professor F. Sigismund Argues That Woman's Natural Feminine Qualities Unfit Her for the Duties and Labor of Man.

An excellent controversial pamphlet opposed to woman suffrage has recently been published in Germany. The author, Professor F. Sigismund, who has drawn largely on the literature of the New York and Massachusetts State associations for data in regard to the United States, writes from a purely German point of view, and his conclusions are drawn with reference to the German woman's movement.

In addition to America and some English sources, Professor Sigismund quotes copiously from German writers, female as well as male opponents of women suffrage. One of the former, Mrs. Kathe Sturmfels, is the author of a very remarkable treatise, which she calls "Krank am Weibe," or "Diseased in its Women."

Professor Sigismund follows the reasoning of many other writers in showing that woman's nature differs from that of man, and that her function of motherhood is centered in and fosters mental and emotional attributes that unfit her for exercising the qualities by which man is enabled to accomplish his special labors. "The most prominent characteristic of woman, in my opinion, is her lack of objectivity. Woman is a subjective being, through and through; she knows nothing as such ("Ding an sich"); she always sees the person, never the case. She cannot be otherwise, since her whole being is planned with reference to motherhood, the most subjective of feelings."

The author proceeds to prove his statement that "Genius belongs solely to man," by the history of human progress. "Man's intellect has reared the giant edifice of civilization! All religious teachers were men—Zarathustra and Buddha, Moses, Christ and Mahomet. Philosophy, the sister of religion, is the work of men. Law and justice were laid down by them. The sacred fire of science was lighted and tended by men. History knows no sculptress who could be named in one breath with Phidias and Michelangelo; no female painter like Raphael; no female author like Homer, Dante or Shakespeare. "All that women have accomplished in the arts sink into the dust, without irretrievable loss to the world."

A valuable contribution to our literature is given in a few pages, where Professor Sigismund refutes Oliver Schreiner's argument that woman was the original artificer and handicraftsman, and that the tyrant man gradually took her occupations away from her and "degraded her into a slave."

Professor Sigismund says: "This is well said; but where are the proofs? Is it possible that woman was so prolific in invention—she, who to this day is not capable of devising a dress that she can put on without help? What do we know of the beginning of humanity? Very little. Our knowledge is largely tinged with hypothesis. Our sources are the ancient myths, in which are reflected memories of racial history and the excavations and discoveries of science, by which diluvial man is made known to us."

The myths are a labyrinth of contradictions, he says. The Indians owe the corn to Hiawatha; Ceres gives the wheat to the Greeks, but a man, Triptolemus, shows them how to till the fields, and invents the plough. Minerva teaches arts and industries, but Minerva is really an abstract idea; she is the personified masculine thought that leaps from the head of Jove in the play of lightning and thunderbolt! Prometheus brings the fire from heaven. No folklore tells of women smiths.

But perhaps prehistoric discovery will help us. The mists of the tertiary epoch are too dense for our purpose, but diluvial men give us the right to draw some inferences, and they are not in favor of female creative ability. The stone implements can only

have been the work of men, who alone had the strength of arm requisite to fashion them, and who would hardly leave such indispensable weapons of war and the chase to the individual who had no use for them. As man killed the animals and removed their pelts, it is reasonable to believe that he first took the skins to cover himself, and so originated clothing. In the same way he used the skins for a tent covering in place of the primitive cave, and thus became the first artist; the carvings and drawings of animals which have been found are so true to nature that it is impossible to believe that they could have been made by any one who had not had occasion to study their habits and watch long hours, as in stalking and hunting game.

The lake-dwellers offer the same testimony. The artistic productions still point to the hunter as the artist. Man is a skilled worker in bronze, from which he fashions weapons, ornaments and vessels. He is also the architect, for it is not conceivable that women could drive home the great, heavy piles, extant to this day, upon which they built their huts. And probability speaks for the fact that he first tilled the soil, and tamed the wild animals, clearing the forests, working the ground with inadequate implements, taming the jackal and wolf (the ancestors of the dog) and yoking the wild bull would be beyond the physical strength of his helpmate. Only two industries can be certainly claimed for women—pottery and weaving.

Thus prehistoric investigations confirm the fiat of history; "man's and woman's nature are different; he is the creative; she is the imitative being."

After taking up the woman suffrage question in the United States Professor Sigismund closes with a paragraph headed "The State for man, the family for woman," and he contends that this does not mean a circumscribed field for woman. "Hers is a task of measureless importance. The pillar of the State, the strong column upon which the race has its stand is the family, and the family is a planetary system, in which the mother is the sun." Woman's work is at least as essential, if not more important than man's, for if he directs the world, she is the world's educator, who molds human character and social order, and creates less and less public opinion.

GERMAN WOMAN'S MOVEMENT A "GRAVE PERIL."

The following is a translation of a proclamation adopted by the German League for opposing the Emancipation of Woman:

PROCLAMATION.

Our country is in danger. The late Parliamentary elections have brought an enormous increase in the Socialist flood. Enemies lurk on all our boundaries—the struggle of parties in our midst is keener than ever before. Under such circumstances we observe, with the greatest apprehension, that the *German Woman's Movement* has entered upon a line of action which must of necessity lead to further weakening the foundations of our endangered commonwealth. The schematic equalization of man and woman, for which they strive, is contrary to reason; it is an attempt to coerce Nature, which has everywhere sharply defined the spheres of the sexes, and strictly apportioned to each their work. We will therefore endeavor to stem a movement which must result in disaster to the State, in harm to man and in a curse to woman. It is not an element of conciliation, as its supporters claim, but it pours fresh oil upon the flames of political and social antagonism, which are burning brightly enough already.

OUR PROGRAM.

1. We demand the preservation of the prevalent order and approved custom, based upon which the *active and passive right of suffrage* for parliaments, municipalities and church organizations shall continue to be exercised by *men*. We believe that woman, by her whole nature, is unfitted for the political struggles now-a-days connected with every electoral franchise. To make concessions in this regard means merely to push woman into politics, which we wish to prevent. Politics should be left to man, who always has been proficient in this field.

2. We know that unmarried women must have *economic opportunities*, but are of the opinion that such are already provided in sufficient number in the form of feminine professions, and may be multiplied further without encroaching on fields of labor which man has possessed exclusively, and always to the advantage of the State, from time immemorial. *Political, judicial and church offices must be reserved for men, as they have been hitherto.* The subjection of male officials under female supervisors, when such occurs, must be forbidden by law.

3. We are not opposed to giving talented, intelligent girls the possibility of acquiring a *higher education* than our high schools furnish. But we reject unconditionally companionship-education (co-education), against which many weighty pedagogical, ethical and national objections are advanced, and which has practically run its course in its original home, America. Furthermore, we wish that such studies only should be open to women, in which they can successfully bring to bear their peculiar feminine characteristics. For these female students *special academics* should be founded, as the German Empress has recently advocated. As soon as these have been started the universities and technical colleges must be reserved for young men, and women must merely be allowed to attend lectures.

4. We *oppose every endeavor* which tends to loosen the marriage bond, to endanger the family, to confuse the ideals of propriety and custom, and to base the relations of the sexes merely upon sensual instincts, e.g., "mothers' protection,"* more rights for unmarried mothers, etc.

If you are in accord with these principles we ask you to join our GERMAN LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN and to work for us in your social circle. Every man qualified to vote, every woman over age, of German descent and Christian confession, will be welcomed. *Our society is not subservient to any party.* But we are firmly convinced that this fight alone, which our consciences forces us to enter into, can save our beloved German fatherland from serious dangers. True manhood for man, true womanhood for woman. This shall be our motto.

Applications for membership and voluntary contributions for the expenses of educational work received by Professor Dr. Sigismund, Weimar; Freifrau Ida von Meerheimb, Rostock i.M.; Frau Kathinka von Rosen, Wittlich; Frl. Elisabeth Haneke, Berlin; Professor Dr. Langemann, Kiel; Walter Benecke, Berlin; Carl Redenning, Berlin-Tempelhof; Professor Dr. Amelung, Dresden; Rev. Julius Werner and wife, Frankfurt a. M.

5. On the other hand, we advocate all women's organizations that are working for the betterment of woman's life in a national, truly womanly spirit, and see in man not the competitor, but the comrade and partner of woman.

[* (Mutterschutz) mothers' protection. An act by which the State cares for unmarried mothers in child-bed, and provides for the child in a public institution. Its tendency seems to be to encourage the women to make use of the provision every year.]

"RIGHT THOU ME, HAROLD, THE KING."

Haro, the King! We crave a boon of thee,
Harold, the King! We crave a boon of thee,

Take from us our privileges,
But give us the Vote!

Load us with heavy burdens and new duties,

But give us the Vote!

Make us do jury service,

But give us the Vote!

Make us watchers at the Polls,

But give us the Vote!

Make us enforce the law (not obey it),
But give us the Vote!

Take away our right to maintenance,
But give us the Vote!

Make us equally responsible for the support of minor children, even boys to the age of twenty-one years.

But give us the Vote!

Make us the political equals of the ignorant and the vicious,

But give us the Vote!

Give our sex the balance of power in all States and cities when women outnumber men,

But give us the Vote!

Put our children in State nurseries,

But give us the Vote!

Deprive us of dower,

But give us the Vote!

Abolish all special protection which implies physical inequality,

But give us the Vote!

Make us responsible for our husband's debts,

But give us the Vote!

Make us advance agents for the Socialist Party,

But give us the Vote!

Give us as wives and mothers only what we are worth as economic partners.

But give us the Vote!

Give our husbands the right to enforce marital duties,

But give us the Vote!

Divorce us for failure to support our indigent husbands,

But give us the Vote!

Alter our manners and deprive us of our dignity,

But give us the Vote!

Abolish our sense of humor,

But give us the Vote!

Shut us in Holloway jail, chain us to columns and feed us with tubes,

But give us the Vote!

Break up the solidarity of woman's influence and reduce her power,

But give us the Vote!

Reduce our country to the value of a second-class power in the eyes of the world,

But give us the Vote!

Make us paid servants in our husbands' houses,

But give us the Vote!

Put octogenarian ladies on the Supreme Court and philanthropists on the vaudeville stage,

But give us the Vote!

Urge all women into industrial life and speed them up to man's earning capacity,

But give us the Vote!

Put us at hard labor,
But give us the Vote!

O, great King Harold! We care nothing for our "traditional duties," privileges or ideals. To resemble you and to be your equal, we would gladly renounce these things, for **you are** our ideal, our master and our king. As women we are hopelessly inferior and our work is contemptible and worthless in our eyes. We are but slaves and parasites and have achieved nothing worthy of praise, all that has been done by men and their work alone is honorable. Let us then labor as men that we may win respect and men may honor our intelligence. We would rather be second in man's sphere than first in our own. Give us the vote that we may achieve these things and progress. Listen and heed, O Man God! for the stone-throwers are at the gate of the citadel and the fires of the temple and the hearth are already extinguished.

JULIA T. WATERMAN.

[THE SUFFRAGE REFRAIN.]

[NOTE.—Any one caring to ask a boon of the Saxon King Harold was always heard. The mode of address was to "Haro, the King."]

What I most admire in women is the splendid audacity with which they demand political equality, while possessing personal ascendancy. When they get both, I shall take the veil.—Sir Gilbert Parker.

SUFFRAGISTS' METHOD OF PRESENTING THE FACTS.

They "Forget" the Largest Vote in Analyzing the Primary Election at Chicago—Figures Cannot Lie, But They Can Be Twisted.

In "The Woman's Journal" of April 27 (the official mouthpiece of the suffragists), the vote on woman suffrage in Chicago was referred to as a very encouraging fact. It was stated that 71,000 voted for suffrage, a larger number than voted for any presidential candidate. That is probably true, but it falls far short of being the whole truth.

Under the caption "Gets Bigger Vote Than Taft," "The Woman's Journal" says:

"Only about half the men voted and only those the simon-pure Republicans and Democrats. The three groups of men on whose almost unanimous vote victory lies at a real election, took no part in these primaries. The Independents who did not declare any party allegiance and the Prohibitionists and Socialists who had only one party candidate for each office did not need to vote at the primary. We had 25,000 votes more than Taft, 19,000 more than Governor Deneen."

The following telegram from one of the leading men in Chicago, who is in no way connected with the anti-suffrage movement, shows that there is a large difference in the manner of presenting a fact:

"Fallacy of argument is shown by the following: More than 300,000 men voted in Cook County and the eight candidates for governor on the Republican ticket received approximately 147,000 and the four Democratic candidates 156,000, a total of 303,000 votes. The presidential candidates, Roosevelt, Taft, LaFollette, Clark and Wilson received over 300,000 votes. Of these 303,000 citizens only 71,000 voted for suffrage and 135,000 took the trouble to vote against it, although they knew it was only an expression of opinion."

This election was the Presidential Preferential Primary, and the vote polled was heavy. Woman suffrage was voted on simply as an expression of opinion and not binding in any way.

Every ward defeated woman suffrage. The Suffragists were certain of the Sixth and Seventh Wards, "silk stocking wards," where an especial effort had been made. And in these wards the majority was smaller than in any others in the city. In the Sixth Ward a vote was polled of 8,909, and the majority against was 483. In the Seventh Ward the majority against was only 72.

Mrs. McCullough predicted that the

Suffragists would carry the Twenty-first Ward, where Mrs. Chatfield-Taylor had organized the women and had her watchers at the polls. But in the Twenty-first Ward the number of votes polled were 6,884 and the majority against suffrage 1,196. Mrs. McCullough also claimed the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Wards, in one of which Miss Jane Addams was a dominating force, and in the other the Socialist worker, Mrs. Raymond Robbins, whose influence was expected to win the day. But in the Seventeenth Ward, with a vote of 3,570, the majority against was 1,506, and woman suffrage was defeated more than 2 to 1. In the Nineteenth Ward 2,495 votes were cast against woman suffrage and 1,152 cast in favor, nearly 2½ to 1. And this in spite of the work of Miss Addams in Vaudeville.

This result is explained by the Suffragists on the ground that the Democrats and Republicans only voted, and that if the Socialists had also voted woman suffrage would have carried in many of the wards of the city. This is a strong indication that the Suffragists look to the Socialists to give women the ballot.

SUFFRAGE IN CALIFORNIA.

Much has been said in the press in regard to the item that 90 per cent. of the women voted who registered in San Francisco. As an additional fact only 25 per cent. of the women who were entitled to vote registered, and that after every effort was made by the Suffragist League, even to having "registration teas." We have contended, since the election last November, that the large majority of the women of California did not want the ballot, but if they have it they should register and vote. Evidently the majority of women in San Francisco take no interest in politics as yet.

Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch telegraphed to the women of San Francisco and Los Angeles through the heads of the Suffrage Leagues to vote for Roosevelt, making the statement in the telegram, "Strike down our enemy." Mrs. Blatch stated that she had never forgiven Taft for having allowed "political experience" to modify his views, which at sixteen were for suffrage, and says that she loves to hit him. This action was resented by many women in Los Angeles and also by suffragists in New York.

Men will always be what women make them. If, therefore, you would have men great and virtuous, impress upon the minds of women what greatness and virtue are.—Rousseau.

MILWAUKEE SUFFRAGISTS FIGHTING EACH OTHER

Two Many Factions in Campaign, and their Internal Strife is Carried Into the Club Life.

Suffragists in Milwaukee, who started out on a campaign to get the ballot for women have lost sight of the purpose of their organization, and have turned their attention to a very bitter social war. There are three distinct woman suffrage organizations working in the State, presumably toward the same common end, but they have fallen to fighting among themselves, and the squabble has become so bitter that it threatens the very existence of the societies.

The warfare was started when Miss Mary Swain Wagner attempted to become a member of the "Downtown Club," an organization of Milwaukee's business and professional women. Miss Wagner is campaign manager of the "American Suffragettes." Now Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, a member of the "Downtown Club," is campaign manager of the "Political Equality League." As showing how much those Suffragists love each other, Miss Wagner was black-balled. Prior to the vote Mrs. Benedict worked against Miss Wagner in the club for "political reasons." The black balls are alleged to have been cast by Mrs. Eastman and her friends.

The "Downtown Club" resents having politics dragged into the club, and the members are furious over the scandal. The Eastman and Wagner brands of Suffragettes are at war with each other and with the club. The result of the whole turmoil is that the club has received several letters of resignation, and more are expected, while it is said several women have withdrawn their active support from both factions of the Suffragists.

One Milwaukee paper suggests that the sisters learn to govern themselves before tackling the bigger job.

MISS RIGGS HONORED.

Miss Jane A. Riggs, honorary vice-president of the District Association of Washington, D. C., Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has been elected vice-Regent from the District of Columbia to the Ladies' Association of Mt. Vernon. She fills the place vacated on the death of Mrs. Barnes and the position which was first held by her mother, Mrs. George Riggs.

MASSACHUSETTS' WOMEN AGAINST SUFFRAGE AND THEIR REASONS FOR IT.

Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage Includes in Its Membership Many of the State's Most Dis- tinguished Women.

There are 16,000 women enrolled in The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women—with many other thousands in sympathy. It is an effective body.

Educated, progressive women are against woman suffrage in very large numbers in Massachusetts. One great reason for standing against suffrage ideas is connected vitally with the public service done by progressive women. It is felt by many women who have done public work that the present disinterested position of woman, entirely outside of politics, gives her work a special power and value which it would lose if she were to take part in partisan strife. The names of the officers and members of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women testify to a strong opposition to suffrage among women especially interested in social betterment and experienced in public service.

For example, the president, Miss Mary S. Ames, is vice-president of the Women's Municipal League, and until lately chairman of its housing committee, besides being a member of the executive council of the Massachusetts Branch of the Women's Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation and on the board of management of many institutions; Brooke House, Home for Working Women, Boston Home for Incurables, Women's Free Hospital, Industrial School for Crippled Children, and a trustee of the Ames Free Library, North Easton, Mass.

The treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman, served for twenty-five years on the State Board of Charity and Lunacy, and was one of the first two women overseers of the poor ever elected in Massachusetts (the other being Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot, the former president of the association). Mrs. Charles D. Homans was for years an active and important member of the Massachusetts Prison Commission. Mrs. Henry P. Kidder is president of the Women's Educational Association and vice-president of the Women's Municipal League. Mrs. Barrett Wendell was a State commissioner for the Jamestown Exposition. Mrs. William Lowell Putnam is known all over the State by her determined campaign for pure milk. Miss Elizabeth P. Sohier is a member of the State Free Library Commission. Mrs.

Robert S. Bradley is chairman of the sanitation department of the Women's Municipal League, and has led the fight against the typhoid fly. Miss Elizabeth Houghton, of Cambridge, has been a leader in the Consumers' League work from its beginning, and also in the District Nursing Association. Mrs. Frank Foxcroft, of Cambridge, is identified with temperance and literary work. Mrs. Charles P. Strong is on the Cambridge Hospital Board and in the Indian Association, and is active in anti-tuberculosis work. Mrs. Benjamin L. Robinson is also on the Cambridge Hospital, the Avon Home for Children, and the State Board of Visitors.

Those who know the association best recognize, truly, that a woman must first prove herself valuable in some public work before she is likely to be considered for the executive committee, which is thus made up of experienced members, knowing community needs, and by what methods these needs are likely to be best met. They have considered the vote, and decided against it as being of no benefit to women or to the State. Such workers for the common good have learned, in the words of a great English social worker, Miss Violet Markham, that while the Suffragists may assert that the possession of the vote is the symbol of liberty, the wiser woman will "consider that its absence is the symbol of something even greater—the symbol of disinterested service."

TO QUIET THE SUFFRAGISTS.

Assemblyman William S. Coffey, of Mt. Vernon, having been pestered by Suffragists to vote for their pet measures, has decided upon a novel scheme to find out just how many of his women constituents are really in favor of suffrage for women. He voted against the suffrage measure at Albany, and is convinced that he voted properly; but to quiet the clamor at his heels he is going to hold a special election in Mt. Vernon. He will have ballots printed, rent a polling-place and invite the women of his city to vote on the proposal.

"I believe this will enable me to find out just how many women in my city really want the ballot, and it will show me whether I was right or wrong in voting against the Suffrage bill," said Mr. Coffey.

We are mothers, wives and sisters of men, and we know that our interests are bound up with the best interests of men, and that to claim to do their work as well as our own is to injure both.—Mrs. Humphrey Ward.

BITTER FIGHT IN OHIO.

Democratic and Republican Leaders Alike Oppose Suffrage Proposal Bitterly.

From one of the most prominent political diagnosticians in Ohio the following conclusions referring to the action of the constitutional convention have been received:

"Despite the utterances on the suffrage question, it is known that both Republican and Democratic leaders and the party factionalists on either side will fight this proposition bitterly. No matter if they are in favor of female suffrage, none of them know how the 1,200,000 women of voting age in Ohio would cast their ballot in the presidential contest, which is bound to be close in any event. There would be no possible chance to organize the vote in the time remaining between the adoption of the constitution and the presidential election. It is a maxim of political prudence to avoid the unknown and the uncertain. This 1,200,000 vote is admittedly a most uncertain proposition.

"On the theory that half a loaf is better than none, the Suffragists will urge such a date for the taking effect of the constitutional provisions as will throw the vote, if they get it, after the middle of November. Any earlier date is held to spell almost certain defeat for the project for which they have labored so long."

"ANTIS" WIN DEBATE.

A debate was held by the students of Howard University (colored) of Washington, D. C., on May 17th. The subject was, "Resolved, that the women of the United States should have the right to suffrage on equal terms with men." It was facts vs. oratory and theorizing, and the sympathies of the whole audience, largely made up of intelligent colored women, students of the university, were with the negative, which won, the decision being loudly applauded. The affirmative was taken by students of the College of Law, the negative by those of the College of Liberal Arts, all men. The conductor of the orchestra was a professor in the university and a son of Frederick Douglas.

GROWTH OF CONNECTICUT ASSOCIATION.

The Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, organized in December, has now 2,000 members in Hartford, an important branch in New Haven with a long list of names of the most influential women, and twelve other branches in the State.

HOW THE SUFFRAGISTS CAMPAIGN IN OREGON.

They Indulge in Bitter Personalities, Insult Opposition Speakers and Quote Clergymen Who Are Dead.

The majority against woman suffrage in Oregon in 1909 was 10,000, and in 1911 it was 22,000. The increase was due to the opposition of the Socialists, who helped to defeat an amendment which had in it a property qualification and which they considered class legislation.

Again there is a big fight raging in Oregon over the suffrage amendment to be referred to the voters next November. Both sides have men's and women's organizations, and as usual, especially in this State, personalities are being indulged in by the Suffragists in their attacks on their opponents in the press and on the platform.

Two evening papers in Portland are owned by a rabid Suffragist and the third by a man whose wife is a suffrage leader. Except for three days reports of anti-suffrage meetings and other news was refused space in the papers. It may become necessary to pay for advertising space to get any news printed that is not in favor of the suffrage cause.

A woman from the east, who was invited by the Prohibitionists to present her views against woman suffrage before them, was insulted because, in answer to a question, she stated that she was a Catholic. She left the hall, two-thirds of the audience leaving with her.

This would seem like poor policy if the Suffragists hope to get the Catholic vote, which they are making every effort to do, even going to the extent of quoting priests who are dead as advocating their cause.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE IN WISCONSIN.

Woman's suffrage is a live and important question in Wisconsin this year. Appreciating this fact and feeling that the majority of women in this State are indifferent to the question, and that many more wish not to vote, a group of Madison women have formed an organization opposed to woman's suffrage. We are not militant, we are not even aggressive, we are organized to meet and become conversant with arguments and reasons for opposition by means of lectures and educational methods, and to inform the men—every one of whom should vote on this question next November—that there exist many intelligent and responsible women in Wisconsin who do not want to vote.

We are convinced that the vote of women in Colorado has in the past fifteen years accomplished little if anything more than women would have at-

tained in club and civic activities; we feel assured that the question of wages is economic rather than legislative; we realize that the solution of moral problems must depend upon public opinion first and the vote afterward. We desire to devote our strength and energy in the home, school and work-room to making that public opinion. Our man-made laws are now improving faster than our woman-made public opinion is growing to support them.

The burden of proof is on the Suffragist's shoulders. We urge the women of this State to carefully consider the obligations of women as women. Are all of our duties done now, or well done? Are we ready for greater burdens? Shall we be carried away by unfounded promises and the misuse of such words as rights, equality and freedom?

The Madison Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage.

WOMAN ENFRANCHISEMENT A TRAVESTY.

Nordhoff, Cal., May 4, 1912.

National League Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Ladies:

From living in a Woman Suffrage State, I don't hesitate to say that the claims of the suffragists are absurd. The women are given entire credit for anything good, while any unsatisfactory condition is always apologized for, as being in spite of their efforts. When Los Angeles, by the union of Republicans and Democrats managed to turn down the Socialist candidate for mayor, there was a great cry that it was due to the women, although I saw hundreds of women marching in a Socialist torch-light procession. Then, when Los Angeles went "wet"—although women at the polls solicited liquor votes from both men and women, that, of course, was in spite of their heroic efforts! Otnard, a small city in this County (Ventura County), has just voted "wide open" two to one under woman suffrage. Ventura, the County seat, was closed by the town ward under manhood suffrage, and now with woman suffrage has been opened by the ward. The question has not been voted upon directly by the people as yet.

They talk equality, and before it is a year old, the women begin "begging off."—Men tell their ages when they register, but women have been excused, merely stating that they are over twenty-one. All men in the State pay a poll tax of \$4, but if that went with the suffrage to women, there would speedily be a petition for disenfranchisement!

Here as everywhere the women don't want real equality, and their enfranchisement is a travesty!

Sincerely yours,

Emily Adams Van Patten (Mrs. Philip S.)

SUFFRAGE FIGHT LOST IN JERSEY.

Supreme Court Decides State Constitution Does Not Give Women Right to Vote.

The Supreme Court, in an opinion by Justice Kalisch, decided that the Constitution of New Jersey does not give to women the right to vote. The court also issued an order discharging a rule to show cause why a writ of mandamus should not issue compelling the members of the Board of Registration and Election of Passaic Township, Morris County, to register the name of Harriet F. Carpenter so that she would be able to vote next fall. It was a test case instituted by those heading the suffragette movement in Jersey.

Mary A. Philbrook, a Newark lawyer, as counsel for Miss Carpenter, made a clever fight to gain through court decision the right of suffrage for the women of the State. When the election board refused to register her client Miss Philbrook carried the case to the Supreme Court on constitutional questions. The legal fight has been a famous one, but the suffragettes are now sadly disappointed, as they based high hopes on the court's decision.

The opinion further sets out that the term "all inhabitants" must be limited to those legally entitled to vote in this State before the adoption of the Constitution and who have qualified under it.

ROMANCE IS PATHETIC

Connecticut Suffragist Refuses to Wed Until She Votes—Date for Marriage Not Announced.

Hartford, Conn.—In an address in the interest of equal suffrage Miss Jean Kynoch, a Red Cross nurse and secretary of the Connecticut Woman's Suffrage Association, announced that she had refused to marry a prominent and rich clubman of this city until she should vote.

Miss Kynoch says that the clubman, whose name she refuses to divulge, is a strong opponent of woman suffrage. To win her hand he must, she says, become an active advocate of the cause. Should he meet these requirements Miss Kynoch said that she would marry him on the day she cast her first vote in Connecticut.

Although bombarded with questions Miss Kynoch refused to give the name of the disappointed suitor or his probable intention as regards her ultimatum.

NINE MONTH'S IN JAIL FOR CONSPIRACY IS MRS. PANKHURST'S LOT.

Court Decides "Militancy" Means "Deliberate Policy of Breaking the Law"—Her Companions also Sentenced.

London, May 22.—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the militant suffragette leader, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, joint editors of "Votes for Women," were all found guilty at the Old Bailey Sessions to-day and each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment on the charge of conspiracy and inciting their followers to malicious damage to property.

The jury in handing down its verdict of guilty accompanied it with a recommendation that leniency should be shown to the prisoners, and Justice Coleridge, in delivering judgment, took this into consideration.

The charge of conspiracy was brought as a sequel to the window-smashing demonstration in London on March 1. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst was arrested for participating in the damage to property and was sentenced on March 2 to two months' imprisonment along with a number of other women.

It was while she was serving that term in jail that the charge of conspiracy was brought against her, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Pethick Lawrence and Miss Cristabel Pankhurst, the last of whom disappeared.

The two women in the dock were pathetic figures when the verdict of guilty was brought in by the jury. Mrs. Pankhurst clung to the edge of the prisoners' enclosure, trembling visibly and pleaded to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.

Judge Coleridge said: "If the prisoners had shown contrition I should have acted on the jury's recommendation, but as they have openly declared that they mean to continue to break the law I cannot make them first-class misdemeanants. They are guilty of an offense for which they are liable to two years' penal servitude."

The Judge ordered the prisoners to pay the heavy costs of the trial.

In charging the jury the Court said: "Nobody can say that the defendants have not had a fair and open trial. The jury has to decide whether the word 'militant' is a mere oratorical flourish or whether it means a deliberate policy of breaking the law."

The jury had little difficulty in deciding that it meant a "deliberate policy of breaking the law."

A GOVERNOR WHO MINDS HIS OWN BUSINESS.

Under the foregoing caption the "New York Sun" recently published an editorial based upon the attack woman suffragists are making upon Governor Hay, of Washington. The editorial in full follows:

A fortnight ago or more the Women's Political Union requested or commanded the Governors of the six States where woman suffrage is practised to sign a cable despatch to Mr. Asquith, the English Prime Minister, begging for a woman suffrage amendment to the home rule bill. The Governors of Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming meekly obeyed. Two other Governors have not been reached or have not answered. Governor Hay of Washington replied in perfect good taste and temper and with a discretion and wisdom that honor him and his State:

"While Governor Hay fully sympathizes with the suffrage movement he feels it highly improper to suggest to Premier Asquith a policy to pursue in England. He and the people of Washington would indignantly resent such presumption on the part of any foreign official to influence decision in any matter under discussion here."

We cannot imagine any foreign official sufficiently responsible to be out of Bedlam who would be guilty of such a proceeding of inexcusable intermeddling in the affairs of another country as Governor Hay is scolded by some impetuous and misguided suffragists of his State and elsewhere for not becoming an accomplice in. Mr. Hay's term ends in January, 1913. He is a candidate for re-election. These petticoated busybodies who resent his refusal to become a busybody threaten to punish him at the polls.

That is their privilege; but what will be the effect upon fair minded and intelligent men in States unblest as yet with woman suffrage? Is excited feeling, inconsiderate of courtesy, of justice; is a disposition not to mind one's own business, is heat without light, characteristic or in any large degree characteristic of woman suffrage?

The "Sun" speaks as neither friend nor foe to woman suffrage, as willing to be convinced. Of this much, however, it is convinced: unless woman suffrage benefits notably the community; unless it brings desirable qualities of mind and temper or an enlightenment in regard to public affairs; unless it increases the wisdom instead of merely adding to the numbers of the electorate, no necessary reason for it exists. It will be granted, where it is granted, as a concession to the sound and fury of a minority of women; it will be an expression of mas-

culine contempt veiled in the form of excessive courtesy and consideration. Baby wants it; that's all.

Meddlesomeness, inflammability of temper and speech, inability to understand how anybody who differs with you has any rights, a wild desire to intrude personal narrowness, prejudice and fanaticism into what should be the larger and tolerant region of public interests and responsibilities; the hasty, sumptuary and parochial spirit is all too common in these United States. If these things are not to be corrected and chastened, but worsened by woman suffrage; if instead of helping reason and charity it is to embitter and inflame, to produce more Paul Pryism, crankism, purely personal and subjective politics; if, in short, the broad and genial fitness for public discussion and public life so long illustrated by Mrs. Carrie Nation is to prevail, then The "Sun," and perhaps a good many other folks, will say No. There is ample room and verge enough in your strictly feminine associations to display your talent for ram-bunctious and rampageous politics; if the feminine voters are to be merely another edition of the fever and fatuity of the men, keep the women out.

As a man of sense and courage Governor Hay might be offensive in the long run to trousered voters, but there is nothing gained by lugging in the women, if they are to have the same flightiness, hysterical passion and incapability of justice. Let us rather consider the virtues of children in arms as rulers and choosers of rulers of the State.

MORE GINGER.

I want to join the suffragettes,
Those merry, valiant bands,
Who march the streets like game old
vets,

With brickbats in their hands.

I want to be a "sandwich" stanch
And "Votes for Women" bear,
While I swift stones at windows launch
And pull a copper's hair.

With "grizzly bears" I'm simply bored,
With "bunny hugs" and those—
I want to scratch a noble lord
And tweak a premier's nose.

So I shall join that valiant band
And plunge into the strife;
With gay, red brickbat in each hand
I'll lead a merry life.

—Laura Alton Payne in Boston Herald.

Since the French Revolution, the influence of woman in Europe has declined in proportion as she has increased her rights and claims.—Friedrich Nietzsche.

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

(FOUNDED 1895)

PAMPHLETS.

- Woman and the Law *By Francis M. Scott*
 Address Before Constitutional Convention, 1894 *By Hon. Elihu Root*
 First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895 *By Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
 The Problem of Woman Suffrage *By Adeline Knapp*
 Woman's Rights in America *By Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin*
 A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *By Miss Emily P. Bissell*
 Wages and the Ballot *By Mary Dean Adams*
 Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *By Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*
 How Women Can Best Serve the State *By Mrs. Barclay Hazard*
 The Blank Cartridge Ballot *By Rossiter Johnson*
 Taxation and Suffrage *By Frederick Dwight*
 Real Opponents to the Suffrage Movement *By Edward W. Bok*
 The Relation of the Sexes to Government *By Prof. Edward D. Cope*
 Do Working Women Need the Ballot? *By Adeline Knapp*
 Address—Covering Conditions in Countries Where Limited Woman Suffrage Prevails *By Mrs. A. J. George*
 Woman's Progress Versus Woman Suffrage *By Helen Kendrick Johnson*
 What Women Have Actually Done Where they Vote *By Richard Barry*
 Woman's Relation to Government *By Mrs. William Forse Scott*
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BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING:

- On Suffrage, (.05) *G. K. Chesterton*
 Votes for Women (.10) *Frederic Harrison*
 The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Eliot Seawell*
 Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)
 Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*
 Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*
 Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, **THE COMMON CAUSE**, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23rd Street.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women:

- Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*
 Of What Benefit to Woman?
 Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*
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1912

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I doubt whether if I were an American I should want to vote. There is such a thing as exchanging the substance for the shadow, and I can imagine no more chastening experience than, having had firm hold of the substance, to find one's self clinging desperately to the shadow.—Miss Ethel Arnold (suffragist).

And our future lies in our being women, more and more; not in aping men far off, but in cultivating our own virtues, and making them a power in the State; not in merging ourselves with men, but in differentiating ourselves.—Fielding Hall.

As in England centuries ago the "King-maker" was far greater than the kings whom he made and unmade, so woman, with the training of voters in her hands, is greater than the voter, if she but knew it.—"Priscilla Leonard"